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possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

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Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'ama*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

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772. 775 196 commonly used. It was impossible to determine whether there was in their minds a sense of great distance or of great antiquity, when they used these phrases. These two conceptions, distinct for us, seem not to have been so to the old Marquesas islander. *Tai* means sea and it also means ancient times. The first phrase may, therefore, be translated either "in the seas (or region) of Havai'i" or "in the ancient times of Havai'i," and the second phrase, "distant seas," or "ancient times." The phrase *i a'o*, applied to Havai'i and other ancient lands may be translated either "below" or "to the westward."

772 775 The ancient chants and traditions indicate that formerly there was a conception of Havai'i as a land or region where men and gods lived in ancient times. Some of the ancient or distant lands mentioned in these chants have names familiar to us as names in other parts of Polynesia, such as Vevau, Tona Nui, Fiti Nui, Po'apo'a, Upo'u, and so on. When I questioned the informants who were working over these chants with me as to what or where these lands were, the reply was always, "They are lands, or regions in, or toward, Havai'i" (*he fenua i Havai'i*)—beyond that they knew nothing. Some of these names are also the local names of sections of land in the vicinity of the region of Hiva Oa, formerly called Vevau.

That the Havai'i of departed spirits was conceived of as a region below this world is clearly illustrated by the custom of looking down into the reflection in oil poured in the sea, or by looking into water in a taro leaf, to observe what was transpiring in Havai'i. There is, on the other hand, clear indication of the fact that the next world was conceived of as being a distant land, which was to be arrived at in canoes. Coffins, which were made in canoe shape, were called canoes (*vaka*). The house in which dead were treated was called literally canoe house (*fa'e vaka*). When a person expected to die, he would say, ordering that his coffin be prepared, "Make my canoe" (*Ta'ai tu'u vaka*). The descriptions given by early writers of sepulchral sacredplaces of chiefs, in which the bodies of the deceased were seated as though paddling in a small canoe, furnish another illustration of this, as does also the fact that the spirits of the dead journeyed westward on Hiva Oa and leaped into the sea from the western extremity of that island, indicating that Havai'i was originally conceived of as a land to the west. In summary it may be said that the evidence justifies the conclusion that, whereas Havai'i had recently come to be regarded as an underworld, it formerly meant an ancient and distant region to the westward.

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